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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 5 October 1990, at 10 a.m.

President:	Mr. de MARCO	(Malta)
later:	Mr. AL-SHAALI (Vice-President)	(United Arab Emirates)
later:	Mr. de MARCO	(Malta)
later:	Mr. AL-SHAALI (Vice-President)	(United Arab Emirates)

- Programme of work

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statement made by

Mr. Bemananjara (Madagascar)

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- Address by Mr. Vitali Masol, Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

- General debate [9] (continued)

  Statement made by

  Mr. Cordovez (Ecuador)

- Address by Mr. Obed Mfanyana Dlamini, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland

  Statements made by

  Mr. Al-Khater (Qatar)
  Mr. Mbonimpa (Burundi)

The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members that, since the general debate will conclude earlier than was anticipated, it is proposed that the special commemorative meeting in observance of the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples be held on the afternoon of Wednesday, 10 October, instead of the morning of Thursday, 11 October. In this regard, it is further proposed that, in accordance with the provisions contained in the annex to General Assembly resolution 44/100, statements should be made by the President of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General, the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, and the Chairmen of the regional groups.

May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to this procedure?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. BEMANANJARA (Madagascar) (interpretation from French): As we express our appreciation of the way in which Major General Joseph Garba of Nigeria guided the work of the General Assembly as its President at the forty-fourth session, and as we pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and all his associates for their tireless work in the cause of international peace, allow me, on behalf of the delegation of Madagascar, to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session.

We welcome to the General Assembly the 160th Member of our Organization - the Principality of Liechtenstein - as well as the State of Yemen and the reunited Germany, each of which is represented by a single delegation.

(Mr. Bemananjara, Madagascar)

In this year, which marks the 45th anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar wishes to make a point of expressing once again its dedication to the purposes and principles of our Organization - notably, the sovereign equality of States, the primacy of international law, the peaceful settlement of disputes and avoidance of resort to the use of force or the threat of the use of force in international relations, and respect for the rights of individuals and of peoples.

Faithful to our position, we have always pleaded the sacred cause of the liberation of oppressed peoples the world over - something that must lead to the eradication of colonialism and of racial discrimination in all its forms. We have always fought for preservation of the identity of our people, refusing to become embroiled in bloc politics and zones of influence, notwithstanding the great sacrifices that that has entailed. But Madagascar's intangible principles, if they have strengthened its policies within the concert of nations, certainly have not facilitated its economic recovery, because its truly non-aligned, though committed, position did not further its co-operation with the wealthy countries.

In the same vein, we have been active in the cause of regional co-operation, South-South co-operation and more equitable international economic relations.

The increasing understanding between the two super-Powers continues to have positive effects so far as certain regional conflicts inherited from the cold war are concerned. After 45 years of division the two German States celebrated their unification on 3 October. On this road, rich in promises of peace and prosperity, they were preceded several months earlier by the two Yemens.

Elsewhere in the world, long-standing antagonists are rediscovering the virtues of negotiation. On the Korean peninsula, the meeting between the two Prime Ministers marks an important step in the process of bringing about a peaceful settlement of the question of Korea - a step that will contribute to the reinforcement of stability in that part of the world.

(Mr. Bemananjara, Madagascar)

In Cambodia acceptance by the various parties of a comprehensive political settlement plan adopted by the Security Council, one which entrusts a central role to the United Nations, lends renewed impetus to the negotiation process. It can only be hoped that the Paris Conference on Cambodia will resume and will work out and conclude a comprehensive peace agreement.

Namibia's accession to independence, followed by its admission to the United Nations, has given considerable impetus to the quest for a negotiated settlement of conflicts ravaging southern Africa.

In South Africa we welcomed the freeing of Nelson Mandela, as well as the opening of negotiations between the South African Government and the African National Congress, which led to the issuance of a joint declaration envisaging significant measures likely to break the long-standing deadlock in the political situation. We express the hope that the process thus set in train will lead to the complete dismantling of the apartheid system, making possible at last the establishment of a democracy free from distinctions of race, within a united and non-racial South Africa endowed with a Constitution guaranteeing the legitimate rights of all the people living in the Republic of South Africa.

We have likewise been following with interest the talks between the various opposing parties in Angola and in Mozambique. We hope that these negotiations will succeed in bringing succour to the peoples of these two countries suffering from the ravages of civil war.

In Western Sahara the settlement plan embodied in Security Council resolution 658 (1990) should facilitate the holding of a referendum on self-determination for the Saharan people, a referendum organized under the aegis of the United Nations and in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity.

(Mr. Bemananjara, Madagascar)

Can one deduce from this quick overview of the international situation that the improvement in East-West relations is the panacea for all the difficulties? In other words, does the thaw in the relations between the two super-Powers mean that we have found an across-the-board political solution to the problems of the world? So far as we are concerned this is not obvious.

As a matter of fact, while the analysis we have just carried out is tempting and attractive, bringing with it a glimmer of hope, the destabilizing effect of certain regional crises and, above all, the gravity of the economic problems dictate that we tread warily and maintain some reservations. None of the processes under way has yet run its course or become totally irreversible. It is thus up to our Organization to consolidate all these processes; otherwise, our efforts will have been in vain. All these problems must be resituated within a more general framework based on a comprehensive approach and a better understanding of international solidarity.

Within that context we have been following with disquiet developments in the tragic situation in the Gulf region since the inadmissible invasion of the State of Kuwait by Iraqi armed forces. President Didier Ratsiraka, in an official message dated 3 August addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, said the following on this subject:

> "... we cannot but condemn, in the name of the universal principles of international law, the invasion of Kuwait, like any infringement of the territorial integrity of a sovereign State, regardless of the reasons cited to justify such an offence." (A/45/379, p. 2)

The immediate consequences of that act of aggression are stark indeed. The people of Kuwait are enduring the harsh conditions of an occupation or are in exile. The Iraqi people, having barely emerged from eight years of war, are liable

(Mr. Bemananjara, Madagascar)

to become the proving ground for the most sophisticated weaponry and thus may be exposing themselves to annihilation. Hundreds of thousands of nationals of third countries have overnight become refugees and find themselves in dire straits indeed. The hopes of the peoples of the third world, who had expected to benefit from the "peace dividends", are fading as they face the possibility of a world-wide economic recession.

The embargo and the drying up of oil supplies now needed for the sophisticated armada in the Gulf region, and the erratic increases in petroleum- and petroleum-product prices further exacerbate the difficulties facing third-world countries in their development efforts and deflects industrial countries' aid from its intended targets.

The concentration of military forces in that ultra-sensitive area increases the dangers of a conflagration with incalculable consequences.

Given the fact that the area of the Persian Gulf and that of the Gulf of Aden fall within the geographical definition of the northern part of the Indian Ocean, our analysis on the convening of an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations to designate the Indian Ocean a zone of peace remains as pertinent as ever. Some people, basing themselves on excessive optimism and the refusal to hold the Colombo Conference, have tried to make us believe that resolution 2832 (XXVI), on designating the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, has become obsolete and does not take into account the change in the climate of international relations.

In the light of developments, there are real risks of confrontation in that area. That is why we ask all the parties concerned to display maximum restraint in order to give diplomatic efforts a chance, and to see to it that wisdom prevails over the logic of war. Indeed, the current crisis must bring into play the responsibility of each State, whether it acts individually or as part of a

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(Mr. Bemananjara, Madagascar)

community. This responsibility must first and foremost be based upon the logic of peace, particularly since provocations from a variety of sources in the region would become a formidable and even irreversible factor for confrontation.

Current events are further complicating an already extremely complex situation in the Middle East. In our view it is time for the international community to come to grips with all the ramifications of a settlement of the so-called Middle East question, a source of instability and of the denial of the fundamental rights of peoples who should be able to live there in peace and security.

The convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East under the aegis of the United Nations in which the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) must participate on an equal footing constitutes the appropriate framework for settling the Palestine question.

(Mr. Bemananjara, Madagascar)

The swift pace at which the Security Council reacted to the Iraqi aggression demonstrated that the Council can, when it wishes, display unity and firmness. None the less, it must be acknowledged that there are many cases of flagrant violation of international law that have gone unpunished.

It is difficult to rid oneself of the impression that the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular are used by their most influential Members when it suits their interests. The concept of the right of veto held by the permanent members of the Council is increasingly perceived as being antithetical to the concept of democracy within the world Organization - a concept that is indispensable to the existence of support on the part of the majority of its Members now that the historic framework that gave rise to its institution has been superseded.

In the final analysis, it is appropriate for us to take a fresh look at the role of the United Nations and the Security Council within the framework of the sort of democracy everyone is espousing around the world and the sort of democratization they are seeking to impose while ignoring the national identity of a particular State. It would be appropriate to define a framework within which international solidarity and genuine political co-operation might become manifest and thus we might envisage a system of consensus for settling all such problems.

The optimism that has been created by the improvement in the international political climate is being weakened by an absence of simultaneous progress in the economic sphere. It is not certain that the hopes for political peace can endure so long as the world economy remains fragile and subjected to fluctuations that we might qualify as "crisogenic" - if you will pardon the neologism.

(Mr. Bemananjara, Madagascar)

Indeed, while promising prospects seem to be opening up among the major Powers, it must be recognized that the overwhelming majority of people are still living in conditions of malnutrition, hunger and poverty.

Ever since the eighteenth special session of the General Assembly the members of the international community have been committed to promoting growth and development on the global level and to guaranteeing to poor countries the conditions and the means for their development. Furthermore, a promise has been made to resume dialogue from a political perspective.

We support the proposal to convene a meeting of the Economic and Social Council at the ministerial level. Indeed we still feel uneasy inasmuch as the structural changes under way in the countries of Eastern Europe will involve a major revision of the allocation of the resources earmarked for expenditure tied to aid for development budgets along with a modification of the structure of world economic activity.

The fact is that most third world countries have courageously undertaken reforms aimed at establishing the political and social conditions necessary for relaunching economic growth, notably in conjunction with structural adjustment programmes. These programmes must take into account, not only the economic and social realities of each State, but also those political choices that are rightly to be made by our people in the exercise of their freedom.

The political transformations that have taken place in the countries of Eastern Europe have been too hastily attributed to political liberalization. But is that sufficient reason to envisage the transfer of a phenomenon that is so narrowly limited in time and space to the States of the South with a view to prescribing new strings to be attached to aid, including what is called readiness

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for democracy? By all means let them call for the bringing about of a climate of confidence in third world countries; yes, but why refuse to trust the capacity for political creativity of States by prescribing an alien model for them? That is why we feel it is urgent to appeal to the international community for respect to be shown for our identity within the context of sound and healthy competition.

Our world is undergoing a complete change. A tempestuous era is dawning, because times of change are the most tumultuous. There is an awareness that one world has come to an end and there is an impatience to reap the fruits of that change immediately. We must therefore exercise care and prudence as we face the future, in order to avoid being overtaken or even overwhelmed by it.

All the events that have taken place over the last several years, in particular the rapid pace of change in the countries of the East, heighten the risk of having attention diverted from the South to the detriment of the South. It is all very well to proclaim that nothing has changed in terms of aid to third world countries, but in the light of the reactions we are witnessing today we cannot but voice doubts and fears. Thus in the face of silent panic in international relations we issue an appeal for shared solidarity between the North and the South, and among those of us in the South, thus ensuring the future for mankind.

ADDRESS BY MR. VITALI MASOL, PRIME MINISTER OF THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Mr. Vitali Masol, Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Vitali Masol, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. MASOL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (spoke in Ukrainian; interpretation from official Russian text furnished by the delegation): At the outset, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to this important post and express our confidence that your vast and diversified experience and political sagacity will contribute to the success of this august international forum and enhance the prestige of your country, Malta, with whose representatives we enjoy an excellent relationship.

As one of the countries that signed the Charter of the United Nations at San Francisco 45 years ago, the Ukrainian SSR warmly welcomes Namibia and the Principality of Liechtenstein among the States Members of the Organization.

(Mr. Masol, Ukrainian SSR)

Reflecting as it does the basic processes taking place in the world, this session of the General Assembly gives us a realistic picture of the world, enables us to grasp the major trends in its development and to compare our views and positions.

Despite all the complexities and contradictions of today's political processes, the dominant trend in world events is that of radical positive changes and transformations. Today's world is a boundless field strewn not with modest and barely noticeable sprouts of vegetation but with young shoots which are already growing and gaining strength and which we call the new political thinking. Rapid changes and momentous events have swept the world. We are witnessing a historic departure from military confrontation in Europe and a transformation of military-political alliances into political organizations working towards constructive interaction. New opportunities are opening for contacts and co-operation.

The new, post-confrontational reality has an international as well as a national dimension. The transformation and democratization of all aspects of the life of the Ukrainian people have provided the impetus for a national and spiritual revival. This will lead to the destruction of the barriers of ideological and political alienation that as recently as yesterday estranged us from other nations and from Ukrainians living abroad. Today Ukrainians, wherever they are, can satisfy their national yearning for their historic homeland and fulfil their cultural, linguistic, religious and spiritual aspirations. Thus outmoded stereotypes and clichés are disappearing, giving way to interaction and co-operation that can strengthen universal human values.

The Ukrainian SSR welcomes the active participation of the United Nations in the processes of global renewal. We pay tribute to the peace-making efforts of the United Nations and its Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar. The role

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played by the United Nations has been dramatically enhanced. At this new stage we see the Organization as a sort of collective decision-making body promoting the harmonious development of an integrated and interdependent world.

The ongoing intensification of the process being carried out within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) is crucial for strengthening international peace and security. The Ukraine views with hope and optimism the important changes in European international relations, which are described in the Secretary-General's report to the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly as representing the choice for peace. Those changes will no doubt facilitate the development of good-neighbourly and friendly relations and broad co-operation between all the countries of Europe.

The unification of the two German States has become possible in the context of Europe's movement towards a common European home. That is a trend we intend to promote. The Ukraine seeks to increase its contribution to the international life of Europe.

The 16 July 1990 declaration on national sovereignty adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic affirmed the Ukraine's intention to participate directly in the CSCE process and in European structures. We hope that our aspirations will be understood and supported by the international community and will be realized without delay.

However, the positive changes taking place in international relations are not reason enough for ignoring the destructive trends that still persist on the international scene. This is perhaps the main contradiction of the present crucial period.

Iraq's recent armed aggression against Kuwait is a throwback to the days of power politics. In this context our Republic's Supreme Soviet has stated that the Ukrainian SSR regards the use of force as an unacceptable way of settling

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international disputes that are not caused by armed aggression. The sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity of occupied Kuwait must be fully restored and safeguarded. The resolute steps taken by the Security Council, including the mandatory sanctions supported by the world community, have made it clear that under the new conditions the United Nations is capable of preventing war and halting aggression. The inexorable intensification of the sanctions should remove any temptation to plunge into military adventures. The United Nations of 1990 is capable of fully implementing the purposes of its Charter relating to the restoration of peace and justice.

The Iraqi aggression has further aggravated the political situation in the Middle East. There is an urgent need to find quickly a political solution to the entire Middle East conflict, whose centre-piece is the problem of Palestine. In our view, an effective way to settle the conflict as a whole is to develop a dialogue on the implementation of the relevant United Nations decision through a peace conference bringing together all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the permament members of the Security Council.

A transition from bitter hostility to partnership in world politics can and must facilitate the search for just and equitable solutions to all regional conflicts without exception.

The Government of the Ukrainian SSR has consistently held the view that all international conflicts and crises should be resolved by peaceful means at the negotiating table. We are convinced that the United Nations peace-making mechanism must be fully utilized for that purpose. This applies in full measure to the problems of Afghanistan and Cambodia, the settlement of the situations on the Korean peninsula and in Western Sahara, to the dismantling of apartheid and to other conflict situations.

(Mr. Masol, Ukrainian SSR)

The construction of a fundamentally new, truly secure, democratic and civilized world will be feasible if all States work together to strengthen the comprehensive multidimensional security structure at progressively lower levels of military capability.

The active participation of the United Nations in the disarmament process, which should cover all types of armaments and extend to all regions, therefore assumes high priority. Each country has a contribution to make to the strengthening of international security through bilateral and multilateral disarmament.

We share the view that considerable progress has recently been achieved in this area, opening even greater prospects for the future. One of the most important accomplishments has been the Soviet-United States dialogue on nuclear-arms control. Noteworthy results have been achieved. The elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range nuclear missiles is nearly complete, and we hope that a treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons is within reach. All of this means that real nuclear disarmament has begun.

However, a number of priority issues are yet to be resolved. Everyone in this hall is well aware that one of our most urgent disarmament objectives is a complete prohibition of all nuclear testing. In the opinion of the Ukrainian Government, one possible way to achieve an early solution of that problem is to extend the scope of the 1963 Moscow Treaty on the prohibition of nuclear testing in three environments to include underground testing. We expect the forthcoming 1991 Review Conference to give serious attention to that possibility. Such a solution could be greatly facilitated by a joint Soviet-United States moratorium on all nuclear explosions.

(Mr. Masol, Ukrainian SSR)

To those in the United States who still question or deny the need for the complete cessation of nuclear testing, I want to say this: you cannot even imagine the high moral and practical dividends that your country and its leaders would derive from responding positively to the world community's desire that this planet should finally be rid of nuclear explosions.

We also propose starting substantive talks on the prohibition of the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes.

Another matter of concern is that there exist certain so-called "nuclear-capable" States, which have not abandoned the idea of going nuclear. The gravity of this problem became evident at the recent Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference, the first one attended by a Ukrainian delegation. I wish to refer to a solemn declaration adopted by our Parliament stating the Ukraine's intention of becoming in the future a permanently neutral State which will not participate in any military alliances and will abide by the three non-nuclear principles: not to accept, produce or acquire nuclear weapons.

The conclusion of a Soviet-United States bilateral agreement on the destruction and non-production of chemical weapons has created the most important conditions for quickly finalizing a multilateral convention on the complete prohibition and elimination of those weapons.

The persistent danger of the militarization of outer space continues to be a matter of serious concern. Other problems that call for speedy solutions include the limitation and reduction of naval activities and armaments, prevention of the spread of the most sophisticated types of weapons, and elimination of military presences and bases maintained by one country in the territory of another.

Another issue that has recently come sharply into focus is that of conversion, the planned shifting of military production and defence spending to civilian uses. What can we do to derive maximum benefits from conversion at minimal economic and

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social cost? This is a disturbing question for us all. On 26 September, the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. H. D. Genscher, told the General Assembly:

> "The conversion of armaments factories to the production of civilian goods is a global task in the cause of peace. We are prepared to co-operate with any nation in this new and important field of international security." (A/45/PV.8, pp. 19-20)

I welcome this statement and wish to say the following: having been drawn, along with a divided Germany, into a burdensome arms race, we would now be truly glad to engage in practical co-operation with a united German State in the demilitarization of industry.

In reviewing the current political situation in the world, we must not overlook the economic parameters of international security. The development of world economic ties is not keeping pace with today's political realities. We are confronted with inequalities in economic development. In many regions of the world, living standards are still extremely low, and rising too slowly if at all.

Worst among the problems faced by many countries, including the developing countries, are the lack or scarcity of resources for development purposes and the ever-growing foreign debt. A breakthrough must be achieved in the development of international co-operation and in adjusting it to the new world realities, if these and many other acute problems of international economic relations are to be resolved.

The eighteenth special session of the General Assembly became a milestone in this field by proclaiming, in its Declaration, the achievement of a new, global economic consensus. For us, the corner-stone of the Declaration is its support for

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the efforts of the East European States to implement drastic economic reforms and become integrated into the world economic system, inter alia, by joining international economic and financial institutions. Just as, not long ago, a common concern for the safety of space explorers made engineers provide for complete compatibility between the Soyuz and the Apollo spacecraft, so today, a common interest in international economic security dictates the integration of our economy into the world economic system.

The law on economic independence adopted by the Ukrainian Parliament will help the Republic assume a role in international affairs that will match its political, economic, intellectual and cultural potential. In this connection, we attach great importance to establishing and expanding equal and mutually beneficial economic and trade relations both with our European neighbours and with all other countries willing to co-operate. The law provides equal legal protection for all forms of ownership, which is a major prerequisite for our transition to a market economy. Equal opportunities will be created for the development of all forms of entrepreneurship. This will encourage competition and prevent monopolies. In general, we are engaged in a search for an efficient economic model which would remove artificial constraints and set free the creative potential of individuals.

We are now going through a difficult period of transition and dealing with a complex social situation. Economic problems are worsening, and political passions are running high. At this extraordinary time, when the Ukraine is asserting its sovereignty, national statehood and economic independence, the Government is concentrating its efforts on preventing economic disintegration and a further decline in living standards. We are working very hard to deal with specific problems and achieve tangible results more rapidly. The Government is taking further steps to protect the people's interests by economic measures, tax policies and other available means.

(Mr. Masol, Ukrainian SSR)

The economic hardships in the Ukraine, whose entire territory has become an environmental disaster area, are being exacerbated by environmental problems. In the aftermath of the Chernobyl tragedy, the Ukraine has an important stake in the efforts to formulate, at the 1992 Conference in Brazil, a strategy for the survival of our planet. We look forward to co-operation for greater international environmental protection based on the constructive interaction of all countries in dealing with environmental problems. Building an environmentally clean world is becoming a priority for the United Nations.

The World Summit for Children has made it clear that a decisive factor affecting the environmental health of our planet and the physical health of generations to come will be our ability to place the advances of science and technology at the service of mankind. Technological progress in and of itself may become either a bridge to the future or a road to extinction. Only the deliberate internationalization of technological achievements and the exchange of production methods that are safe for the environment and beneficial to mankind can pave the way to the early attainment of improved levels of industrial activity.

(Mr. Masol, Ukrainian SSR)

One manifestation of the new approach is the contribution the United Nations and its specialized agencies are making to co-operation in mitigating the effects of the Chernobyl nuclear accident. The consensus resolution on this subject adopted by the Economic and Social Council at its second regular session of 1990 is a major show of solidarity and international concern over the situation in Byelorussia, the Ukraine and certain parts of Russia. The resolution was an expression of willingness to provide the victims with assistance not subject to any ideological or bloc-membership constraints. Let me convey the sincere gratitude of the Government and people of the Ukraine to all the States Members of the United Nations and to all the collective and individual donors who supported us in that trying hour.

It is a source of great moral encouragement for our people that, in these times of hardship in the wake of the Chernobyl disaster, the united nations of the world stand by them. I urge the General Assembly to live up to the hopes of those who have suffered and to adopt a resolution on assistance and co-operation to be provided by the specialized agencies of the United Nations system in overcoming the ravages of the Chernobyl disaster. I wish to inform you that the Ukraine has decided to freeze the construction of new nuclear power plants and to close down the one at Chernobyl. In co-operation with the International Atomic Energy Agency and with the States concerned, an international research centre is being set up in the Chernobyl area. As we mobilize billions in funds and the Ukraine's entire scientific and technological potential for programmes to eliminate the effects of the disaster, we hope that the world community too will participate in this effort.

An important task in building new international security structures is to strengthen and develop humanitarian co-operation and to eradicate the remnants of confrontation in the socio-humanitarian and legal bodies of the United Nations, so as to free their work from ideology and focus it on effective results. The General

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Assembly's adoption of the Political Declaration and the World Programme of Action at its seventeenth special session and its proclamation, on the initiative of the Ukraine, of the United Nations Decade against Drug Abuse are, in our view, an indication that States are determined to achieve a breakthrough in fighting that social plague.

The Ukrainian SSR is prepared to take an active part in attaining the objectives of the United Nations Decade of International Law, for, as President François Mitterrand stated from this rostrum, "indeed the time has come for the rule of international law." For us, affirming the supremacy of international law goes hand in hand with building a democratic State based on the rule of law.

We are becoming convinced that more can be done to help mankind see itself as a global community imbued with the humanitarian spirit, and not as a conglomeration of unco-operative nations, through uniform human-rights standards implemented by democratic States in which the rule of law prevails and through the affirmation of universal values than by anything else.

These conclusions are supported, inter alia, by the findings of the United Nations seminar on international human-rights standards held at Kiev last week by the United Nations Centre for Human Rights in co-operation with the Government of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Ukraine would like to see appropriate human-rights standards harmoniously combined with guarantees of international security and greater international co-operation. Human rights, international security and co-operation form an indissoluble amalgam in international policy and practice that will ensure lasting peace and stable progress at this crucial time, when humanity is not only entering a new millennium, but also, we should like to believe, initiating a new historic stage of greater perfection.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Vitali Masol, Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, was escorted from the rostrum.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. CORDOVEZ (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. President, all of us in Ecuador feel profound friendship and great admiration for your country. I should like to express these feelings as I hail you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its current session and to wish you every success.

Today, as in the past, the world needs to strengthen the United Nations. Today, more than in the past, the international community must be governed by the postulates enshrined in the Charter and must build a new era of peace, security, development and democracy.

Ecuador wishes to bear witness once again to its faith in the United Nations and to its abiding and renewed dedication to all the principles of international law and justice which the Organization has been strengthening. Those very same principles are embodied in the political Constitution of my country and guide the foreign policy of my Government.

Our tribute to the United Nations is a recognition of its noble spirit and of the constructive work it has steadfastly been carrying out, which gives expression to the world's hopes for a better future.*

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* Mr. Al-Shaali (United Arab Emirates), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Cordovez, Ecuador)

The world we seek will have to strengthen world-wide solidarity and create the necessary framework for fruitful fellowship and co-operation at the international level. It will also have to respect the essential values of the human being. The so-called social contract, the formation of groups and societies, the very make-up of a State and of international organizations have a fundamental purpose, which is their rationale. That purpose is nothing more or less than facilitating solutions to common problems and making it possible to meet the legitimate aspirations of human beings. The recognition of the rights and obligations proper to a society thus conceived is the underpinning of democracy.

Day after day the world is growing more interdependent, and it will have to develop greater solidarity. Solidarity is becoming manifest as a sine qua non for our common essence as human beings. We inhabit the same planet. Our future destiny is the same. As a Roman sage put it, we are human, and nothing human can be alien to us.

Since last year, mankind has been living through a time of expectation and hope. Changes have unfolded in the world with dizzying speed, changes of such magnitude and depth that international relations must now be viewed through a prism totally different from what might have been appropriate during most of this century. The crumbling of the Berlin Wall is the most visible symbol of a process of transformation which has opened a new era in the ties between the major Powers and has led to the formation and consolidation of major economic groups with decisive influence on the world scene.

(Mr. Cordovez, Ecuador)

Peoples are the major protagonists in these substantial transformations. Aware of their strength and their ability to decide their own destiny, sure of their rights and determined to demand that States should interpret those rights faithfully, the world's peoples are shaping the new modalities and institutions that they will freely adopt to pursue their tireless quest for happiness.

The transformations that have been taking place are changing all the political, economic and strategic patterns. Constructive dialogue has been gaining in strength and progressing smoothly. It is marked by growing confidence and is feeding on its own dynamism, while bearing fruit in the form of positive actions that benefit all mankind. It is only right to pay a tribute to the vision and courage of all those who have led this process of international détente, especially the President of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev.

We welcome the reunification of Germany, and in this step of far-reaching significance we see possibilities of enormous importance for the world economy and for the consolidation of Europe's efforts to encourage understanding and the global climate of détente. The universalization of the United Nations as an ongoing process is also being extended to Korea, and the understandings moving forward there will have to reflect the orientations motivating the entire process.

We have also seen during the year since the last session of the General Assembly, the triumph of the heroic and steadfast struggle of the noble people of Namibia, strengthened by the support of the world Organization. The admission of Namibia to the United Nations as a new Member State gave particular and lasting significance to the process which constitutes a symbol in the successful fight against colonialism, discrimination and apartheid.

(Mr. Cordovez, Ecuador)

Ecuador expresses the hope that the measures adopted by the Government of Mr. De Klerk regarding the granting of legitimacy to the African National Congress, the freeing of political leaders and other steps towards an opening of South Africa's political life have become part of a process which will lead at an early date to the total and complete disappearance of the loathsome apartheid régime. Against this background, we see the inspirational and visionary figure of that great leader, Nelson Mandela, to whom I, on behalf of Ecuador, wish to pay homage.

Measures adopted by the Organization in Central America have done much to facilitate the implementation of the Esquipulas and Tela Agreements. The electoral process in Nicaragua and the democratic transfer of power to a Government freely elected by the Nicaraguan people were very positive steps on the road to a peaceful settlement.

Ecuador once again demonstrated its support for United Nations action, its solidarity with the Nicaraguan people and its constant commitment to finding a peaceful settlement to disputes when it participated with officers of its armed forces in the task entrusted to the United Nations Observer Group in Central America by the Security Council.

We believe that the people of El Salvador must pursue their dialogue, which must be both flexible and realistic, in order to arrive at understandings between its political forces and thus to put an end to the crisis which has gone on for too many years and has claimed too many victims. We are closely following with similar concern the possibilities for overcoming confrontation in other countries of the region as well. Our readiness to co-operate towards that end has constantly been demonstrated in a practical way aimed at facilitating the kind of dialogue that will ultimately lead to negotiated solutions accepted by the parties now confronting each other.

(Mr. Cordovez, Ecuador)

Accordingly, the Government of Ecuador fraternally welcomed the meeting held in my country last week which led to working out certain basic guidelines for reconciliation within Guatemalan society. That meeting led to the adoption of the Quito Declaration within the context of a process of dialogue promoted by that country's National Reconciliation Commission, created within the context of the Esquipulas II Agreement. We believe that we must support any effort aimed at strengthening democracy, and for that reason we have also supported the request of the Government of Haiti to have our Organization co-operate in ensuring the proper conduct of the upcoming elections.

The path towards overcoming all conflicts is, and indeed must be, the path of peaceful settlement. We are pleased, therefore, to note that the world Organization has brought its influence to bear in order to bring about a settlement of the Cambodian conflict. We affirm with profound conviction that finding solutions to the Middle East conflict is a challenge and an imperative for the United Nations. If it finds such solutions - as it has the historic obligation to do - its authority will be strengthened and will prove fundamental to peace in the years ahead.

We see before us a world which must reorganize its international relations and adjust them to changing circumstances. The problems between countries are different from those that marked the East-West confrontation. The United Nations will have to pursue with renewed vigour its steadfast labour to promote and consolidate peace. The crisis in the Gulf demonstrates that the international community as a whole has faith in the ability of the Security Council to act. The Security Council, having regained the authority assigned to it by the Charter, has taken steps to ensure complete respect for the principles of the Organization. I should like to reiterate here that Ecuador firmly supports all Security Council

(Mr. Cordovez, Ecuador)

resolutions. We have also noted that at the Helsinki Summit détente between the major Powers is more than a matter of rhetoric and that the Soviet Union and the United States have agreed to adapt their positions and their actions to the pattern of solutions adopted by the United Nations.

All this is to be welcomed as encouraging at a time when it is becoming increasingly clear that the world has other problems to contend with. There are forces that may create problems and tragically alter the trend towards peace that mankind wishes to pursue. The crisis of poverty, ignorance, enormous inequalities between rich and poor, the problems of the environment and drugs are all currently dangerous sources of conflict.

If we succeed in halting the use of force between States, we shall have taken a major stride down the road towards peace. But in order to make peace and security effective, we must build international relations based upon an ethical order within a concept of harmony and solidarity that will open possibilities for the benefit and well-being of all. This means that we must put an end to economic and social underdevelopment and to environmental pollution; it means that we must view the problem of drugs as our own problem; it means that science and technology, financial resources and trade, the production of goods and services cannot be divorced from the legitimate aspirations of every member of the international community. Human solidarity cannot be limited to specific issues or kept within the confines of nations or regions. Security must be integral and universal.

(Mr. Cordovez, Ecuador)

We must redefine the meaning and scope of peace and security. At the same time, we must strengthen the ability of our Organization to act. Mankind wants to live in a world of peace, freedom, social justice and total respect for human rights, in a world free of fear and distrust. This is not a dream world. It is a world which is within our reach if we can give to solidarity and interdependence the true meaning they must have and if, working together, we articulate a new concept of collective security that is more in keeping with the problems and risks that now confront us. The United Nations system as a whole will have to face reality and the new needs of mankind. We shall have to adopt measures that will enable that system to work with revised guidelines to combat the new types of violence that threaten international peace and security.

This will be a complex, lengthy and delicate process which will have to be tackled with vision and courage, without undue haste but also without undue hesitation.

(Mr. Cordovez, Ecuador)

Since its current Government came into office, Ecuador has tried to emphasize the implementation of the traditional principles of our international policy in the conviction that all countries, irrespective of size or economic or military power, can and must contribute to creating a world of progress and co-operation. Latin American countries have every reason to act as one, and we must continue to work towards that goal.

The Presidents of the five countries members of the Andean Pact, meeting in the Galapagos islands, adopted agreements of great importance for galvanizing subregional integration and laid the groundwork for a climate of peace, security and co-operation within a framework of understanding and good-neighbourliness, which will facilitate the elimination of all the problems hindering the process and their relations. The Galapagos presidential meeting and the subsequent one held at Machu Picchu enabled the Governments of the Andean Pact to establish closer ties of trust based on absolute mutual respect; this will permit more effective handling of the issues of greatest urgency, importance and interest to them.

In that spirit, for the first time in 170 years of history as a republic, a Peruvian President visited Ecuador and an Ecuadorian President visited Peru. Each was received with the respect and cordiality commensurate with our common determination to make our bilateral relations ever more fruitful. These mutual visits will unquestionably contribute to an environment in which we can take every opportunity offered by our proximity and in which we can overcome the differences that divide us. That is what President Rodrigo Borja said against the historic backdrop of Machu Picchu, and what I reaffirmed in this year's report on foreign relations.

Latin America continues to suffer the effects of the most serious crisis in its history, but it has continued to strengthen its democracy notwithstanding the

(Mr. Cordovez, Ecuador)

threats to social stability. We possess major human and natural resources and can therefore make a significant contribution to solving international problems. Overcoming the crisis will therefore be vital for the region and beneficial for the rest of the world.

In these circumstances, President Bush's initiative for the Americas can and must give rise to a process of partnership based on mutual interest. Its elements are not based on paternalistic notions of direct economic aid, but are conceived rather in the context of necessary changes in international trade, international finance and investment. Those changes include: expanding trade and for that purpose lifting barriers, eliminating obstacles and paying better and fairer prices; reducing external debt and debt-servicing costs; and promoting investment. Implementing the initiative with dynamism and timeliness could make a significant contribution to resolving the region's most severe economic and social problems, to strengthening political stability and to establishing new relations in the hemisphere.

Ecuador and Latin America as a whole reacted positively to the United States proposal. We must now work out the details and lay the groundwork for negotiations to identify problems and opportunities. President Bush has set out his proposal with vision and pragmatism. We in Latin America must, jointly and individually, define constructive responses that will enable us to find mutually beneficial paths.

Ecuador reaffirms its views on the tragic problem of drugs. The results of the seventeenth special session of the General Assembly highlighted the shared responsibility of producers, traffickers, suppliers of ingredients and consumers. They also showed the variety and complexity of the social and economic conditions in countries that produce the raw materials for drugs. They made it clear that a comprehensive, joint approach is necessary to be successful in combating this

(Mr. Cordovez, Ecuador)

scourge of mankind. Concerted action by all, and technical and financial support commensurate with each country's capacities and responsibilities, will enable us to adopt effective measures.

Ecuador considers that protecting the environment is one of the issues that best highlights the interdependence of all States and that must move them to united action. The 1992 Conference on Environment and Development must be a milestone in human history. The preparations, guided with such dynamism and effectiveness by Maurice Strong, must continue to be detailed and specific. Agreements to be adopted must be specific and effective.

Ecuador is privileged to serve at present as Secretary pro tempore of the Treaty for Amazonian Co-operation, which has eight signatory countries, at a time of two major events. First, a new phase in the Treaty is beginning, within the guidelines set by the Amazonian countries in their commitment to co-operation, with 50 programmes and more than 100 projects of the greatest importance related to the environment, science and technology, health, indigenous affairs, transportation and tourism, information and education. We note also that countries and institutions in general are assigning the highest priority to sustainable development efforts for the Amazon. Those two factors add up to a special situation, because countries are defining more clearly what they want to and must do in a sovereign way within their own territories, and the international community is ready to work on the basis of the terms, policies and strategies defined by the Amazon countries themselves.

We are living in a world more aware of its problems and its possibilities. People the world over know what the facts are world wide, and are better acquainted with the unjust gap that separates the excessively rich societies from the excessively poor societies. The United Nations, whose prestige is growing in pace

(Mr. Cordovez, Ecuador)

with its effectiveness, faces the formidable challenge of contributing to strengthening positive trends in international relations, promoting efforts for a new dimension in independence and solidarity, and in that way enabling us to say as the twenty-first century begins, that we live in a better world protected by a broader, more active and more realistic system of security that makes it possible for all - in industrialized countries and in the third world - to live together in peace and justice.

ADDRESS BY MR. OBED MFANYANA DLAMINI, PRIME MINISTER OF THE KINGDOM OF SWAZILAND

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland.

Mr. Obed Mfanyana Dlamini, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland, Mr. Obed Mfanyana Dlamini, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. DLAMINI (Swaziland): On behalf of my Head of State, His Majesty King Mswati III, the Government and people of the Kingdom of Swaziland, I should like at the very outset to convey to you, Sir, our warmest congratulations on your well-deserved election to the presidency of the Assembly. Your election to guide the deliberations of the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly is indeed a clear indication of the confidence the Assembly has in you as an accomplished diplomat of outstanding ability. My delegation has no doubt, therefore, that our session will greatly benefit from having at its helm a person of your calibre who has a clear perspective of the various global problems facing mankind today.

I should also like to express my delegation's sincere gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador Joseph Garba of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, for the most distinguished manner in which he steered all the business of the Assembly during the last session. We were deeply impressed by his inspiring leadership and discerning insight into the various matters of concern to humanity that came up for discussion in this Hall during the past session.

I also take this opportunity to congratulate the Principality of Liechtenstein most sincerely on its recent admission to membership of the United Nations. We wish it all the best as the newest partner in the community of nations.

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

Forty-five long and eventful years have come and gone since the world body was founded in 1945. Since that date, the Organization has played a role of paramount importance as an effective instrument for fostering international peace and security and as an indispensable forum in which to promote a spirit of greater co-operation and understanding among the inhabitants of this complex but increasingly interdependent world of ours.

A great deal has been accomplished during the past 45 years. We have witnessed phenomenal changes taking place on the world's political map. We have seen the dismantling of colonial empires and the emergence of many new sovereign nations from the shadows of foreign domination to play their rightful role in the task of creating a more just and secure world in which the entire human race can live in relative peace and security.

Indeed, the last few years have seen many encouraging signs that our long-troubled world is at last entering a promising new era of peace and security characterized by a growing willingness to resolve conflicts through peaceful dialogue. In this era of glasnost and perestroika, we have seen rivalry and mistrust being replaced by a new spirit of growing co-operation and mutual trust between the two super-Powers.

The United States and the Soviet Union are to be commended for their decision to shift from confrontation to co-operation. The new and positive climate has given rise to a marked relaxation in East-West tension, thereby ending the cold-war spectre that had haunted East-West relations since the end of the Second World War.

We have been equally encouraged by the changes that have taken place in Eastern Europe since December of last year. The most significant of those changes

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

is the successful reunification on 3 October 1990 of Germany into a single nation after so many painful decades of division.*

We congratulate the people of Germany on that historic event and we sincerely hope that a united Germany will play an even greater role in promoting world peace and economic progress. We are accordingly convinced that the new phenomenon in East-West relations augurs well for the future of world peace and the security of all mankind.

The welcome trend towards greater world peace and security has, however, been seriously marred by the recent events in the Gulf region. My delegation regards the unprovoked invasion and forcible annexation of Kuwait, a Member of the United Nations, as setting a very serious precedent which, if allowed to go unchecked by the world community, would pose a grave danger to the continued existence and independence of many small nations.

Accordingly, the delegation of the Kingdom of Swaziland wishes to reaffirm its full support for the various resolutions adopted by the Security Council to end that act of naked aggression against the people of Kuwait. We equally condemn the holding of innocent civilians as hostages and their use as human shields in the Gulf crisis. We urge the Government of Iraq to free all hostages and to comply with the Security Council resolutions calling for the withdrawal of Iraqi military forces from Kuwait.

My delegation wishes to congratulate the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the United Nations Transition Assistance Group on their successful implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which ensured the holding of free and fair democratic elections in Namibia and the achievment of

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* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

Namibia's long-awaited independence in March this year. We are indeed most grateful that, after many years of painful struggle, the people of Namibia is today a free and sovereign nation and has taken its rightful place in the General Assembly.

That remarkable achievement is undoubtedly a fine example of the important role played by the United Nations in promoting the process of decolonization and in facilitating the peaceful resolution of conflict situations around the world. The successful implementation of the independence peace process and the arrival of an independent Namibia in the community of free nations have given a strong impetus to the current peace momentum in other parts of southern Africa.

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

Several important and positive developments towards peace have, for instance, taken place in South Africa since February this year. We have witnessed with extreme joy the release from prison of Mr. Nelson Mandela; the unbanning of political organizations; the lifting of the state of emergency in three of the four provinces of South Africa; the repeal of certain apartheid laws and the start of exploratory talks between the South African Government and the representatives of black political organizations aimed at ending apartheid and at creating a new non-racial and democratic South Africa.

We sincerely hope and pray that formal negotiations on the future constitution of a new South Africa will commence without any undue delay so that, for the first time, all the people of South Africa will be allowed the opportunity to contribute to the development of a new constitutional dispensation acceptable to all the people of that country.

We are accordingly saddened by the current violence in Natal and in some of the black townships of South Africa involving mainly the black population of that country. This violence has already caused considerable unnecessary human suffering. Right now, many people have fled their homes and some of them have come to seek refuge in Swaziland in order to escape the current violence in South Africa. We therefore wish to appeal most earnestly to all political leaders in South Africa to bury their differences and to work together in a spirit of brotherhood for the peaceful transition of their country to the post-apartheid era.

We are convinced that the present violence is not in the best interests of the people of South Africa and that its persistence will only play into the hands of those elements in that society who are bent on preserving the status quo of apartheid. These elements should not be allowed to succeed in their aims to plunge the people of South Africa - the majority of whom are peace-loving and

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

well prepared to accept a new dispensation - into such unnecessary bloodshed. The time must come soon for our southern African region to reject the use of violence as a means of resolving political differences. Peace and political stability should be allowed to prevail in our region so as to enable southern Africa fully to exploit its vast potential for economic development.

It is accordingly heartening to note that there are now improved prospects for bringing an end to the military conflicts in Angola and Mozambique, which have caused untold human suffering and wanton destruction of vital infrastructural facilities in these countries.

In expressing the deep concern of the Kingdom of Swaziland about the conflict in Mozambique, I can do no better than reiterate the words of my Head of State, His Majesty, King Mswati the Third, in this very Hall last October, when he pointed out that the continuing war in Mozambique affects Swaziland in many ways. It spawns large numbers of refugees, now totalling over 50,000, who flee into Swaziland to stretch our limited resources in land, housing and employment, and so on, to the breaking-point.

The delegation of the Kingdom of Swaziland is highly appreciative of the vital role played by the United Nations, in conjunction with the Organization of African Unity, in the search for a just and lasting solution to the problem of Western Sahara. The meetings in the recent past between delegations from the Kingdom of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front were a positive indication of the genuine desire of both parties to engage in a constructive dialogue on this problem.

We accordingly commend the Secretary-General's efforts aimed at arranging a referendum which will enable the Saharawi people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly.

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

We similarly commend the untiring efforts of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity to find early solutions to the conflict between Chad and Libya and to the friction between Mauritania and Senegal.

We wish to call upon all the parties involved in these two conflict situations to exercise the utmost restraint and to redouble their efforts in the search for peaceful solutions in the true fraternal spirit of African brotherhood.

Swaziland is concerned that the current crisis in the Gulf has caused an interruption in the processes aimed at achieving a settlement of the problems affecting the coexistence of the Israeli and Palestinian people. We are hopeful that the interruption is only temporary, and we remain convinced that it is only through peaceful dialogue, involving all parties on an equal footing, that there can be any hope of a just and lasting solution to this long-standing problem.

True to our country's policy of non-alignment, peaceful co-operation with all nations, and the acknowledgement of the prerogative of all peoples to self-determination, we recognize the right of both the Israeli and the Palestinian peoples to their own territories, each within secure borders.

For decades the situation in Central America has posed a serious threat to international peace and security. It is however gratifying to note that at their summit meeting last year the five Central American States reached some important agreements which we hope will greatly promote the peace process in that region. In this regard, we welcome the creation of the International Verification and Follow-up Commission involving the deployment of United Nations military observers. We also commend the Nicaraguan Government for its bold step in inviting the United Nations and other bodies to send a group of observers to Nicaragua early this year to monitor the recent elections in that country.

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

We likewise congratulate the Secretary-General who, through his good offices and remarkable diplomatic skills, succeeded in procuring a negotiated solution to the Central American conflict.

The situation in Cyprus continues to be a matter of great concern to all of us. The people of this island still remain a sharply divided nation and the prospects for unity and national reconciliation seem to be as dim as ever. We therefore wish to urge the two Cypriot communities to do everything in their power to bury their differences and to find a peaceful formula for bringing about an early settlement of this long-standing question.

We encourage the Secretary-General to continue to use his good offices to promote a spirit of national unity among all the people of Cyprus in order to help preserve the independence and sovereignty of their Republic.

With regard to the Korean peninsula, the delegation of the Kingdom of Swaziland welcomes the recent meeting of the Prime Ministers of the two Koreas, and hopes that all existing obstacles in the way of a peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula will soon be removed. Swaziland is convinced that the key to solution of the Korean problem lies in the concerted support of the international community for a process of direct inter-Korean negotiations without any external interference. We accordingly welcome the recent decision by the Government of the United States to scale down its military forces in South Korea.

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

The protection of our environment deserves to be given the highest priority at a global level. The international community has constantly been warned of the enormous dangers posed by the mindless destruction of our beloved planet in the quest for national development. Danger signals are already flashing - clamouring for concerted action by the world community to curb those activities that degrade the environment. Such harmful practices as the indiscriminate dumping of toxic wastes and other hazardous materials must be combated at all costs. Uncontrolled deforestation, the widespread burning of grass and overgrazing are but some of the factors that have turned large tracts of originally green land into barren deserts.

Swaziland wishes to reaffirm its full support for all international efforts to ensure effective protection of our environmental heritage.

Although we happily welcome the developing rapprochement between the super-Powers, we are none the less painfully aware of the fact that the world is still far from achieving its ultimate goal of global disarmament.

The arms race has not yet ended; many weapons of all kinds are still being produced and stockpiled. The number of nations seeking to acquire the capability to produce and stockpile weapons of mass destruction, such as chemical weapons, is increasing by the day. In the light of this continuing arms race, my delegation is convinced that the United Nations still has a very important role to play in championing the cause of disarmament. The United Nations is a unique international forum, where all nations, large and small, may continue to make an effective contribution to the task of promoting the process of disarmament.

The international economic situation remains a matter of great concern to most developing nations. Four years after the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development was launched, our economic situation continues to worsen.

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

Most developing nations, like mine, depend, for their export earnings, mainly upon a very narrow range of primary commodities, with the result that the generally low commodity prices currently prevailing in the world markets play havoc with our economies. This is further aggravated by the high cost of imported spare parts and other items that are needed for economic development.

At the same time, interest rates on international loans are high. This, coupled with the present unfavourable exchange rates, causes severe balance-of-payments difficulties and chronic shortages of foreign currency in the developing countries.

Added to these factors is the external debt burden, which, as well as proving increasingly to be one of the major obstacles to the economic growth of our countries, is giving rise to a net transfer of real-development resources from the poor nations of the South to the industrial nations of the North.

In the light of this fact, the current Gulf crisis could not have come at a worse time for the majority of non-oil-producing developing nations. We all know how the disruption of oil production in Gulf countries has affected world oil prices. The effects are felt more sharply by those countries, such as my own, whose fragile economies are least able to cope with them. Developing countries now face the prospect of devoting larger amounts of scarce foreign currency to payment of the correspondingly higher prices of oil imports. Development projects, vital to our future, will consequently be jeopardized through lack of funds. The inevitable rise in inflation rates will surely affect the very fabric of our socio-economic structures.

Employment - already an issue of growing concern to the Governments of all developing nations - will be severely affected. Employers, in an effort to stave off the effects of escalating inflation, will be forced into staff reductions to maintain profitability.

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

Further effects of inflation - such as rising food prices, increased production costs, and an overall deterioration in the quality of life - will clearly lead to political disaffection, with results that are potentially disastrous for Governments and people in the developing world.

But I am confident that this catalogue of potential woe can be averted - it must be averted - by an increase in the level of assistance to developing countries from the industrialized nations. We know that our plight is recognized, and we are reassured by the words of the representatives of wealthier countries, who use forums such as this Assembly to pledge their assistance. We look forward to seeing those words backed up by continued, and increased, action.

We are not simply looking for financial handouts. The future of countries such as Swaziland depends on the development of the industrial and business sectors to such a degree that we may be able, in the shortest possible time, to dictate our own economic growth. Swazis are a proud, confident and able people. We stand ready, with the right help, to face the next decade with optimism and hope.

So, may I conclude by relaying the good wishes of His Majesty, King Mswati III, Her Majesty the Queen Mother and the whole Swazi nation to all the Members of this Assembly. We Swazis are indeed proud to be associated with an Organization whose influence on peace and the maintenance of stability throughout the world is being put fully to the test, an Organization that has shown that the confidence we all place in its abilities has not yet been misplaced.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland for the important statement he had just made.

Mr. Obed Mfanyana Dlamini, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland, was escorted from the rostrum.

Mr. AL-KHATER (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me, Sir, to begin by congratulating you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session. Your election is a recognition by all of your extensive experience in the affairs of the United Nations and of the important role played by Malta, your country, in the international community. We have every confidence that you will carry out the responsibilities of your high office with the ability and efficiency for which you are known.

(Mr. Al-Khater, Qatar)

I also wish to extend my thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Joseph Garba, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, and commend the objectivity and efficiency with which he conducted the deliberations of the previous session of the General Assembly.

I should also pay tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, and commend his ceaseless efforts in the interests of peace and the settlement of international conflicts. His continuous and persistent search for solutions to those conflicts entrench the principle of the settlement of disputes by peaceful means set out in the Charter of the United Nations with a view to establishing international relations on peace and security.

My country appreciates these efforts and extends to him its full support in line with its previous policy of supporting the Organization and upholding its principles, believing in its mission of establishing international peace and security on the strong bases of truth and justice and of mutual understanding and brotherhood among all nations, great and small, rich and poor.

I take this opportunity to welcome, in the name of my country, the reunification of Germany, which will contribute to the cause of peace.

We meet in this regular session, at a time when the international community faces extraordinary circumstances it has not been faced with since the Second World War. I speak to you with my heart full of grief because the current crisis constitutes a deep rift in the structure of our Arab house; a rift that not only puts the entire house in unthinkable danger, but also threatens, as never before, the security and safety of the whole world. The flagrant Iraqi invasion of peaceful Kuwait took the world by surprise. It is an event so grave that it has destroyed the concept of Arab concord, created a new division among Arab countries and added a new artificial problem to the problems already existing for which the Arab States were working together to find solutions. Moreover, this invasion runs

(Mr. Al-Khater, Qatar)

counter to international law and custom and to the principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter and those of the Charter of the League of Arab States. It all happened so unexpectedly that it defied all the reasonable norms that should govern international relations among the nations of the world, let alone the States that are linked by brotherly neighbourliness and close bonds of faith, heritage, purpose and common destiny, as in the case of all Arab States.

Before the invasion, the Arab Gulf States were seeking wholeheartedly to establish the basis for an Arab system in the region that would provide its peoples with economic and social security and serve as a component of a broader and more comprehensive Arab security within the framework of the international security system.

Since the inception of the Arab Gulf States Co-operation Council, its leaders have been persistent in their striving after those noble goals. Then, suddenly, came the Iraqi aggression against the State of Kuwait to thwart all those efforts and disrupt, God knows for how long, the work towards the establishment of a stable system for the security of the Gulf States, the Arabs and the world.

The world of today is not the world of great and medium States alone but also of small States which enjoy, under the Charter of the United Nations, the same sovereignty as the others, have the same privileges and assume the same responsibilities without distinction between great and small States. Our world today is brimful of manifestations of co-operation among nations, great and small, reflected in regional groupings, common markets and customs unions and, above all, in the United Nations itself.

Therefore, the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait constitutes a deviation from the standard conception of the international community structure and turns the wheel of history back to ancient times when strong States used to devour their smaller neighbours and with impunity erase them from the map of the world. Those

(Mr. Al-Khater, Qatar)

days have gone for ever and the world can no longer tolerate such aggression. Today all nations, great and small, equally denounce and condemn aggression and demand the elimination of its consequences. In fact, the special responsibilities of the super-Powers make them duty-bound to set a good example for others until truth and justice prevail so that all, great and small, might live in the comfort of peace and security.*

In the welter of the thick dark night that has fallen on our region and the world since August, a ray of hope appears through a prompt international and regional and swift response both to this brutal aggression. The international community, regardless of its differences, was able to take a unified, clear and firm stand regarding the Iraqi invasion of the trusting and peaceful State of Kuwait, which used to participate wholeheartedly, and with fruitful commitment, in all fields of international co-operation at both regional and global levels.

The world has unanimously rejected the aggression and its consequences, demanded that it should be removed, all its consequences eliminated and that everything should be as it was before the aggression took place.

This unanimous international stand which became crystallized so quickly and effectively, is the first of its kind in modern times. It is, perhaps, a sign of the emergence of a new world order in which all contradictions and polarizations will disappear; where all the States of the world would work hand in hand to maintain universal peace and security as was envisioned by the authors of the Charter.

On the Arab level, resolutions adopted by the Arab Gulf Co-operation Council and by the League of Arab States, have been circulated to members as official documents of the United Nations. Those resolutions are an expression of the

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* Mr. Al-Shaali (United Arab Emirates), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Al-Khater, Qatar)

denunciation of the Arab world of this grave event that shook the foundations of its existence, since it was a flagrant violation of the Charter of the League of Arab States which provides for respect for the territorial integrity of its member States and for their independent existence. Accordingly, the States in our region have exercised their legitimate rights and have taken all the necessary measures to protect their sovereignty and defend their security in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Those Arab resolutions are similar in content and spirit to the eight resolutions adopted, on a world level, by the Security Council, as a clear expression of international legitimacy and the noble principles of the Charter, especially the principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes, respect for the territorial integrity of all States and the non-use of force in international relations.

The Security Council resolutions clearly and strongly express what my country expects from the international community, that is a rejection of aggression and a firm resolve to eliminate all its consequences by using all means available to the Security Council under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter until this serious threat to international peace and security vanishes from the world horizon, and until the principles of right and justice and the rule of law in international relations has been established.

World events, especially the most recent ones, have underlined the pivotal role of the Organization in dealing with international problems and in asserting the Organization's principles and objectives enshrined in the Charter, which determine the framework for co-operation and mutual understanding among Member States, demand respect for the sovereignty and independence of States, and call upon nations to live together in an atmosphere free from fear and intimidation.

(Mr. Al-Khater, Qatar)

The Organization therefore has become an indispensable and effective instrument of multilateral diplomacy, which has proved to be the only way to deal with the world's political, economic and social problems we are facing today.

It is promising that we have seen in our world the emergence of internatinal détente, particularly between the super-Powers. We have also witnessed the end of the cold war and we have seen political changes in a number of countries, which are two factors that are considered to be a decisive step for the future of humanity.

However, we need to remind ourselves that the reality of the situation is not as it seems. There are still problems in certain regions of the world that require speedy solutions. Hence, it would only be right to say that the solution of those problems requires international co-operation and that the role of the United Nations would be inevitable in promoting such co-operation.

We have to recognize that no matter how much optimism prevails in the world, humanity will never enjoy peace and safety until the chronic problems have been solved, in particular the Palestinian problem, which has been on the agenda of the General Assembly since its inception.

The strange thing with regard to the Palestinian question is that while the world moves in one direction the Arab-Israeli conflict moves in a different direction, that is fraught with tension and confrontation, despite the tens of resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly confirming the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and despite the continuing struggle waged by the Palestinian people in defence of its rights and its dignity with the support of all the nations of the world. We salute the intifadah of the Palestinian people and give our total support to its struggle and its hopes that this struggle will bear fruit so that this people may attain its right of self-determination, as have other peoples in the world.

(Mr. Al-Khater, Qatar)

Israel, however, still persists in ignoring those rights, thus flagrantly disregarding the United Nations resolutions which were adopted in line with the provisions of the Charter and with the right of peoples to self-determination.

The State of Qatar lends its full support to every well-meaning effort aimed at helping the Palestinian people attain their inalienable right to settle their problems and to have their own State, in conformity with the principle of self-determination set forth in the Charter and with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

In Lebanon, the tragedy continues and the Lebanese people still suffer the horrors of a war that seems without end. We welcome the political developments that took place last year as well as the recent constitutional changes approved by the Lebanese Parliament, which would ensure equality among the people. We commend the efforts made by all parties concerned to reach a just and speedy settlement to this tragedy and to begin building a prosperous future for this sister country.

The Taif meeting provided a good opportunity for our Lebanese brethren to meet as representatives in their own parliament. This created an atmosphere that inspired concord and confidence for restoring Lebanon's national unity. That, however, cannot be achieved unless Israel withdraws from the occupied parts of Lebanon and, indeed, from all occupied Arab territories.

Israeli occupation is a stumbling block in the way of peace and security for the whole region. We appeal to the United Nations, and especially to those Member States, who under the Charter have assumed special responsibilities for maintaining international peace and security, to make the efforts necessary to establish justice and to right the wrong by ensuring the full and speedy implementation of all resolutions adopted by the Security Council calling for the termination of the Israeli occupation of those territories.

(Mr. Al-Khater, Qatar)

Notwithstanding the international détente, there are still several hotbeds of tension that cause trouble in international relations and continue to threaten regional security in a number of the world's regions of the world.

As we turn to the question of Cyprus, we commend the silent efforts made by the Secretary-General jointly with the parties concerned to solve the differences and reach a settlement that would ensure for both Cypriot communities a safe and stable life together.

We cannot fail to express our pleasure at the positive developments that took place in Central America as a result of the efforts on the part of leaders faithful to their countries and to their causes, seeking a just and peaceful settlement for the problems of the region in a way that would ensure for its peoples stability, prosperity and a secure livelihood.

As for South Africa, the State of Qatar has consistently condemned the policy of apartheid. Now, it welcomes the changes that have taken place in that country with a view to eliminating the consequences of that policy. Yet, we regret the clashes that are being used as an excuse for the return to certain oppressive measures. We sincerely hope that all efforts will continue with a view to ending the policy of apartheid and eliminating all its consequences so that the African people there will be able to exercise unconditionally their legitimate rights.

The drug problem is getting worse every year because of increased demand and increased production of drugs in many parts of the world. Drugs have become one of the most serious threats to the political, economic, social and cultural structure of every society both in industrialized and developing countries. It is essential therefore to strengthen international co-operation in fighting this social plague. Industrialized countries must contribute to those efforts. In fact, because of their wealth and advanced technologies their responsibilities in this area should be greater.

(Mr. Al-Khater, Qatar)

My country recognizes the importance of protecting the environment and preserving clean air, soil and food and, consequently, ensuring human safety. We also realize that if we fail to take such measures, the environment will deteriorate to the point that it will be unable to sustain life, not only in one region but throughout the world. The atmospheric changes and the pollution of water, oceans and seas go beyond political boundaries and may lead to disastrous consequences. We hope those problems will be the subject of in-depth study by the United Nations Conference on Development and Environment that will be held in Brazil in 1992. My country attaches special importance to this question, since such studies would be most helpful to the efforts my country is making to protect its environment and to improve its environmental studies and efforts.

In the field of economic development, my country welcomes the outcome of the eighteenth special session of the General Assembly on the Revitalization of Economic Growth and Development of the Developing Countries in the aftermath of political developments and the improvement of relations between the super-Powers. My country recognizes that those developments deeply affected international economic co-operation and enhanced the efforts made by the industrialized countries in giving assistance to developing countries, to help them develop their economies and to join in the march of economic and social progress.

(Mr. Al-Khater, Qatar)

In support of international efforts in that connection and in solidarity with fraternal Arab States and other developing nations my Government has decided to forgive all debts and the interest thereon owed by such nations, in the hope that that decision will contribute to mitigating the heavy burdens that shackle those nations and, thereby, further the progress of their development efforts.

The world stands today at the threshold of unprecedented changes. It must seize the historic opportunity now within reach, in order to deal with problems it has been struggling with for several decades. The world is no longer so preoccupied with ideological and political problems that it must ignore such more-important issues as the eradication poverty, disease and illiteracy, the root causes of backwardness. There are no more obstacles to prevent the industrialized countries from making concerted efforts to provide assistance for economic and social development.

The thinking of the super-Powers is now directed towards finding ways and means of using the funds that will be released as a result of disarmament in the wake of the ending of East-West confrontation. Today there is hope that détente will result in the channelling of such surpluses, which amount to hundreds of millions of dollars, to economic and social needs. There is today a duty to formulate an international development strategy that should take into account the needs of the developing world and, in particular, the vital interests of developing countries, which must be helped if the new world order is to be viable and sustainable.

One of the questions that must be addressed seriously in the light of the new developments, is the existing imbalance in international economic relations. The imbalance between poor and rich is increasing at a time when it is in the interest of the entire world that prosperity be extended to all the peoples of the earth,

(Mr. Al-Khater, Qatar)

thereby ensuring the necessary balance in living standards and living patterns for all nations.

I would share the pessimistic view the Secretary-General expressed in his report to the special session of the General Assembly when he characterized the 1980s as the lost decade of development. I also support his recommendation that we must seize the opportunity offered by international détente to agree on new concepts of international co-operation in the new decade.

The developing countries are very eager to co-operate in finding effective solutions to the economic and social problems which beset our world and, to that end, we reiterate our belief in the feasibility of negotiations between developing and industrial countries to build international economic co-operation on sound and rational bases that would take everyone's interests into account.

Accordingly, my country considers that the role of the United Nations is essential in establishing those desired sound and rational bases, and we hope that that role would contribute effectively to the realization of the necessary economic growth and be a prelude to the transfer of technology and scientific research in the interests of development in the developing world.

By the same token, we hope that mutual understanding and concord will continue to prevail in the international political climate and that the present détente will be a first step towards further progress in the disarmament process and the reduction of nuclear weapons, leading eventually to their complete elimination, so that peace and understanding may prevail in the world.

In that connection, we support the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones. We are of the opinion that the international community's acquiescence in Israel's acquisition of nuclear weapons, encourages that country to pursue its nuclear armaments programme and, consequently, to persist in its political obduracy. It

(Mr. Al-Khater, Qatar)

has so far refused to adhere to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, which was the subject of a Review Conference held recently at Geneva.

It is a fact of life that the world will never enjoy real political détente without economic security. We all know that the economic crisis continues and that the problems besetting most developing countries cannot be solved without help from the industrialized countries. The international community continues to be confronted by the debt problem, which defies all solutions. We believe that no solution can be found until the industrialized nations reduce their restrictions on trade and modify their monetary policies. In that connection, we consider that the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries held in Paris is a good beginning, one that, we hope, will open the door to other measures which may lead to solutions to the chronic problems of economic development in the developing countries.

Those problems can be properly addressed only within the framework of the United Nations. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us to lend our full support to the Organization and to place our full trust in it in order for it to be fully effective. Thus, it will benefit the whole of the international community and pave the way for justice, mutual respect and world stability.

Mr. MBONIMPA (Burundi) (interpretation from French): I have the honour to convey to the President a message of peace, fraternity, friendship and wishes for every success at the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly addressed to him by His Excellency Major Pierre Buyoya, President of the Military Committee for National Salvation and President of the Republic of Burundi.

On behalf of my delegation I should also like to express to Mr. de Marco my sincere congratulations on his accession to preside over our work. We are convinced that thanks to his human qualities, his diplomatic experience and his

(Mr. Mbonimpa, Burundi)

dedication to the ideals of peace our deliberations will be crowned with success. In electing him President of the General Assembly the international community has expressed its confidence in him and in his country, the Republic of Malta. I should also like to congratulate the other officers of the Assembly who will, we are sure, spare no effort to assist him in the discharge of his lofty duties. I assure them that my delegation will give its full support in carrying out their mandate.

I should also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to his predecessor, Major-General Joseph Garba, for the highly praiseworthy work he accomplished during his mandate. That outstanding diplomat is the pride of Africa and of his country, Nigeria.

(Mr. Mbonimpa, Burundi)

I should also like to express my warm thanks to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for the many efforts, as positive as they are tireless, which he has constantly made throughout the past year for the maintenance of international peace and security. I take this opportunity to congratulate him most warmly on having accomplished the decolonization of Namibia, a friendly and fraternal country, which my delegation once again welcomes into the United Nations family. I also welcome Liechtenstein, which has just joined the great United Nations family.

Before stating my country's views on some of the items of the agenda of this session, allow me to describe briefly the situation now obtaining in my country.

On 3 September 1990 we celebrated the third anniversary of the proclamation of the Third Republic. Over the past three years, the Government of Burundi has ceaselessly pursued the fundamental objectives it had set itself, namely, national unity, social justice and development for all in a genuine democracy. Since its installation, the régime of the Third Republic has undertaken to strengthen unity and reconcile all the people of Burundi, so that together they can build the future of their country. The people of Burundi aspire to live in peace, order and tranquillity. They wish to bequeath to their children a country of unity, from which hatred and vengeance have been banished. It was in that spirit that the Head of State, in September 1988, appointed a commission to study the issue of national unity. The commission produced a report, which was made available to national and international public opinion on 13 May 1989.

Last year, I had the privilege of describing to you, from this very rostrum, the major outlines of that report, concerning which there has been a wide-ranging democratic debate throughout the country. I am pleased to be able to tell you that several of the report's recommendations have already been implemented.

(Mr. Mbonimpa, Burundi)

One of the main recommendations of the report was that a charter of national unity should be drafted. The commission was thus given a mandate to produce a draft charter, which all the people of Burundi were invited to discuss. The debate took place at all levels and in all sectors of national life. Many of our people, from diverse social and occupational backgrounds, responded to the appeal and studied the issue of national unity honestly and thoroughly. They also made useful suggestions concerning the content of the draft charter, which was published on 16 May 1990 and subjected to thorough scrutiny. It expounds fundamental human rights and freedoms - the right to life, freedom of expression and association, freedom of religion and the right to own property. The charter also includes a commitment by the people of Burundi to reject violence, extermination and vengeance. It calls on the people of Burundi to defend equality, justice and democracy.

The publication of the draft charter is an important event for the people of Burundi because our citizens are coming to realize more and more that unity is the basis for any political and social organization and for development. In submitting the draft charter of national unity, the Head of State, Major Pierre Buyoya, said:

> "By adopting the charter, the people of Burundi will have proclaimed its Burundi identity before all other affiliations. It will have made the undertaking to fight for national unity in order to keep Burundi a country of unity and peace".

The people of Burundi will also have undertaken to fight for equality of all before the law and to reject unjustified generalizations and all forms of discrimination based on ethnicity, region and clan. To prepare for its future, the people of Burundi must stress the spirit of forgiveness and reconciliation and scrupulously

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respect the right to life. The charter will be a pact among all the people of Burundi. It will be the basic text and the foundation of the definitive institutions which will set all the Burundi people on the democratic road.

When the charter was published, on 16 May 1990, the Head of State announced the main deadlines in the country's political calendar. At the end of this year, the UPRONA party - the Union for National Progress - will hold an extraordinary congress, expanded to include all the representative forces in the country, in order to adopt the draft charter of national unity and also the charter of economic and social development. The congress will set up a party central committee to replace the Miltary Committee for National Salvation, which was installed when the Third Republic came into being. Two months later, the Burundi people will proceed by referendum to adopt the draft charter of national unity. Immediately thereafter, a constitutional commission will be set up, with a mandate to develop a draft constitution, which will also be adopted by referendum. On that occasion the Burundi people will, in complete freedom, choose the form of political organization it prefers. The institutions which will be set up will thus meet the people's deepest aspirations. The people will exercise its sovereign choice between a single-party and a multiparty system. The people of Burundi intend to establish a democracy which will ensure peace and unity, leading to development for all without distinction. We do not want to create institutions in haste, for they might not reflect the aspirations of the Burundi people.

We call on our neighbours, on all friendly countries and on all our partners to continue to show support for us. We believe that peace and development in Burundi will be a contribution to the struggle for peace and prosperity throughout the world.

(Mr. Mbonimpa, Burundi)

Unity and development are goals which are intimately linked. The political reforms have been accompanied by economic reforms aimed at restoring the major macroeconomic balances, at reviving economic growth and at raising standards of living. The economic reforms are part of a structural-adjustment programme which has support from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and our other partners. Adopting the structural-adjustment programme has not affected Burundi's development guidelines. It has been a tool for good management in implementing the country's priorities for economic and social development.

Even if we have been unable to achieve all the expected results, over the past two years we have been seeing an improvement in the balance of payments, an increase in tax revenue, in administrative dues collected and, generally speaking, in control over public expenditure. In order to reduce the social cost of the reforms, a programme to cover the social dimension of the structural adjustment was introduced. The reforms are continuing despite the difficult circumstances, which include the debt burden, the collapse in the market for coffee - our main export - and the increase in the price of oil.

We are convinced that increased support from our friends is indispensable if we are to achieve the objectives we have set ourselves. The international community is well aware that underdevelopment is one of the factors creating divisions and conflicts between peoples. We should like to take this opportunity to thank the friendly countries and organizations which have given us their constant support in this process of economic reform.

One of the recommendations of the commission established to study the question of national unity was that an economic and social council should be set up. That consultative body, answerable to the Head of State, was set up on 15 March 1990 with the mission of studying and analysing national economic and social problems and providing advice and suggestions on policy directions to the executive branch.

(Mr. Mbonimpa, Burundi)

This Council is an ideal framework for in-depth thought on economic questions in our country. The establishment of the Economic and Social Council is another step along the road of openness and democracy. We consider that the major economic and social questions in our country are challenges and, in this respect, are of concern to everyone. Their solution thus requires the contribution of the national community as a whole through free and open thinking and debate. This is why the composition of the Council was motivated by a desire for broad representation without discrimination, be it regional, ethnic and, even less, socio-professional.

True to its policy of national unity to ensure the well-being of all the people of Burundi, the Head of State set up a national security council in July 1990. In fact, the security of a country cannot be the business of the police or the army. It is a responsibility that lies with all citizens.

The Security Council comes within a comprehensive framework to build and consolidate the unity of the people of Burundi. It is entrusted with defining and orienting the national security policy. For the first time in the history of our country, a body has been set up which will consider problems of security within a more comprehensive framework, one that is more open and more transparent.

The Security Council, comprising eminent State personalities, will strive to restore and reaffirm confidence among the people of Burundi. It will be called upon to make decisions in peacetime and, above all, in times of crisis. The Council will help to revive feelings of unity and solidarity in times of happiness, as well as in times of misfortune, since it is true that, in order to overcome any crisis, above all we must have unity. The establishment of this Council follows the same logic as that which led to the establishment of the Unity Government in October 1988, the appointment of a National Commission to study the question of national unity, and the establishment of the Economic and Social Council.

(Mr. Mbonimpa, Burundi)

Despite the priority given to our domestic policy, Burundi is convinced that our era is one in which interdependence and solidarity among nations, regions and peoples are indispensable.

The common destiny of mankind in the face of the many dangers threatening all countries, large or small, rich or poor, has become an indisputable reality, like the fundamental aspirations of all nations and of all peoples for well-being and peace.

Détente and the desire for peace, which now characterize international relations, are very encouraging for the international community as a whole. The improvement in Soviet-American relations, for the entire world, contains great hope for stability in that it offers the prospect for peace and fruitful co-operation.

Moreover, my country continues to follow with particular attention the rapid changes occurring in Eastern and Central Europe, the major progress achieved by the European Economic Community towards establishing a single market and political union and the new prospects for integration for that continent.

The reunification of the two Germanys is an historic event at the end of the twentieth century. It marks the end of a period of antagonism between blocs and opens up better prospects for peace in the world.

This gives us great pleasure, and we hope that the German nation, which will now play a decisive role in the European system, will use its economic power to strengthen North-South co-operation, as we all hope.

We are being confronted with a unique historic opportunity, towards which all efforts should converge in order to consolidate the favourable trends and make them irreversible, thus giving a new dimension to relations among States.

Lately, détente and dialogue in international relations have been essential elements, which have made it possible to take dynamic and concrete initiatives to facilitate the settlement of many conflicts.

(Mr. Mbonimpa, Burundi)

In southern Africa, the Namibian people have seen their efforts of many years crowned by their independence on 21 March 1990. We must now reflect on the quality assistance to be given to the young Namibian nation so as to enable it to ensure its full independence in the best possible conditions.

The peace process that has been developing for some time in Angola and Mozambique, thanks to the efforts made by the various messengers of peace, must be strengthened and encouraged in order to enable these two countries to preserve their sovereignty and to devote themselves fully to economic development activities.

As to South Africa, my delegation reaffirms its condemnation of the hateful system of apartheid. However, the various measures taken by the Government of South Africa encourage a certain optimism. Moreover, the agreement of 7 August 1990 between the Government of South Africa and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) are of great importance on the road towards true peace. While pleased with this step, Burundi calls for talks to continue in order to achieve an agreement aimed at dismantling apartheid fully, thus establishing a multiracial and democratic society. Finally, we call on our black brothers of South Africa to halt all acts of violence and to unite in order to wage the last battle against apartheid more effectively. The international community, for its part, must maintain its support for the ANC and for the other movements involved in the struggle for a more just society.

Still on Africa, the question of Western Sahara has made encouraging progress. Can we finally hope that, after the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations on Western Sahara, published on 20 Ju e, the best possible conditions will be found to organize a referendum so as to implement the joint peace plan of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity for the settlement of this question?

(Mr. Mbonimpa, Burundi)

As to the Middle East, we must mobilize to seek peace in this region together. Burundi supports and encourages all initiatives taken to restore peace among the Palestinian and Israeli peoples. However, we regret the lack of real progress, owing to the rejection of the various peace initiatives by one of the parties to the conflict. Burundi hopes that the Palestinians and the Israelis will soon meet at an international conference to discuss the terms for the establishment of the long-awaited peace.

It is high time that the pressures and sufferings of the populations of the occupied Arab territories were halted, and that the Palestinian people regained its inalienable right to a sovereign State in secure and internationally recognized borders.

As to the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq, my delegation deplores and condemns the violation by the occupying Power of the rules of international law governing the respect of territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and non-use of force in the settlement of disputes. The invasion and occupation of small States by large ones cannot be tolerated in our era. The invasion of Kuwait by Iraq is all the more serious in that it complicates a situation which is already tense in the region, and as it threatens to provoke a conflict with incalculable consequences.

At this time, the poor non-oil-producing countries are finding themselves in an extremely grave crisis, which is destroying all their development efforts. The measures envisaged for countries considered to be the most affected should be extended to the poorest countries, where the crisis has worsened an already bad economic situation.

(Mr. Mbonimpa, Burundi)

Burundi, like other peace-loving nations, calls on Iraq to withdraw its forces from Kuwait so that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that State may be restored. Once again, the United Nations is being called upon to play fully its role to ensure respect for the principles of law contained in the Charter.

As regards Cambodia, Burundi expresses its satisfaction with the agreement between the parties to the conflict for the framework proposed by the five permanent members of the Security Council for a comprehensive and lasting political settlement to the question. Moreover, we urge them to strengthen the spirit of dialogue and reconciliation and to avoid fratricidal confrontation.

(Mr. Mbonimpa, Burundi)

With respect to the Korean peninsula, my country supports the principle of peaceful reunification and encourages the two parties to continue the dialogue which has been begun so that this process may be rapidly concluded. The Korean people must regain its sovereignty, its dignity and its unity. It is imperative that the work of reunification of the Korean nation and of its people, which share a culture forged by a common thousand-year-old history, be achieved through a reduction of tension in the region by the demolition of the wall which divides them so that an opening may take place between the North and the South. Thus, we may soon welcome among the family of the United Nations a single Korean nation.

In Central America, the results of the Tela agreements are very encouraging. We hope that the normalization of relations among the countries of the region will become irreversible.

This is a very propitious opportunity for my delegation to express once again to the Assembly its admiration for the steadily growing role played by the United Nations in the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts under the impetus of its tireless Secretary-General. The entire world cannot but be pleased with these encouraging political results, which have strengthened our Organization. However, these results should not hide the economic malaise which, in the near future, could jeopardize the delicate balance that the world has just regained with difficulty.

In fact, in our developing countries the continuing drop in commodity prices, the dizzying escalation in the prices of manufactured goods, the increasingly heavy burden of external debt, the rise in interest rates and the reverse in the flow of our resources are challenges which are destroying our development efforts and are obstacles that we must overcome in order to ensure harmonious and sustained development.

(Mr. Mbonimpa, Burundi)

We must find increased agreement in the efforts of Governments of the international community. In this respect, it should be possible to mobilize more effectively the resources necessary for a more complete and more general development, particularly through the direct support of existing regional economic groups. These groups, in our view, are the realistic way to economic development.

With respect to the domestic field, many developing countries, in co-operation with multilateral financing and development institutions, have made courageous efforts to adjust their economies. In the face of an unstable and risky economic and environment, it is becoming increasingly difficult to envisage a better tomorrow.

In the short term, the results achieved by these adjustment policies can be summed up in terms of sacrifice and privation. International assistance is urgently needed to reverse the trend towards the impoverishment of a large part of humanity and to stimulate their economic growth.

For my delegation, development assistance seems to be a moral duty, based on human solidarity which refuses to let millions of human beings die from the ills which underdevelopment has created. In Africa, for example, in the 1980s, as recognized quite recently by the Heads of State and Government who met in Addis Ababa for the summit of the Organization of African Unity, most of the means of production and infrastructures have been constantly deteriorating. The per capita income of populations has fallen considerably, and resources devoted to public health, housing, education and other social services have been reduced, leading to a deterioration in the living standards of our populations.

We thus hope that the debate in this Assembly will lead to concrete results and will meet the urgent needs for development. The United Nations, we are sure, will achieve these results. Proof of this is the Final Declaration of the Second

(Mr. Mbonimpa, Burundi)

United Nations Conference of Least Developed Countries, adopted unanimously last month. We call on the developed countries to uphold their commitments to support the development efforts made by our countries.

Among the diplomatic events to which my country attaches the greatest importance is the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, to be held in Brazil in less than two years. The present political climate is pushing further and further back the nuclear threat, but the violence of man against nature is also a grave threat to survival. That Conference will be an important stage in the drafting of a common policy for eliminating imbalances and promoting true world co-operation in order to preserve the environment, the common home of the whole of mankind.

My delegation would like to stress most strongly its desire to see the development dimension given the same importance as that given to the environment dimension. We are pleased with the increasing recognition of this view by the international community and we hope that the various preparatory sessions of that Conference will draft the best possible strategies for success.

We hope that this Conference will result not only in a clear and unconditional policy for preserving the environment, but that it will also encourage the adoption by developed countries of policies that will promote the growth of a world economy compatible with the global objectives and major imperatives for development.

Apart from the fears created by the deterioration of our environment, there are scourges such as drugs that no less seriously undermine our societies. We are pleased with the determination with which the fight against drugs has been carried out, but we recall that, in order to ensure victory, we must not neglect or underestimate the importance of a single front. We must show unceasing and unfailing solidarity.

(Mr. Mbonimpa, Burundi)

It is customary to talk a great deal about questions of human rights in all their aspects, both civil and political. In the view of my country, human rights should be understood in a really global fashion, including economic, social and cultural rights, without forgetting the right to development.

The World Summit for Children, held here in New York on 29 and 30 September last, showed that on this planet, which we so strongly desire to preserve from all scourges, children are the actors of tomorrow.

In his message to the Summit meeting, Major Pierre Buyoya, President of the Republic of Burundi, said:

> "The World Summit for Children is appropriate at this time because the care and protection of children have become a moral duty rooted within wisdom and the culture of our societies. Nevertheless, present problems such as war, violence, underdevelopment, indebtedness and degradation of the environment may distract the attention of leaders and political decision-makers with regard to the special nature of children and their decisive role in the future of the world."

Burundi, which has already ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child, has solemnly undertaken to do everything possible to ensure the support and implementation of the recommendations contained in the Declaration and the Plan of Action adopted by the world leaders at the World Summit for Children. Our Organization has thus taken an additional step on the road towards creating a world where we must safeguard our achievements for future generations.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.